Giants of the State Department Who Made Our History

Several Became Presidents and All Were Distinguished, Many of Them Especially So on the Bench or at the Bar

THE great office of Secretary of State to which it is generally accepted Mr. Harding will appoint Charles E. Hughes of New York, has peculiar distinctions in our national history. It is an office in fact, if not in name, older than the Government itself, for John Jay was elected Secretary for Foreign Affairs five years before the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Again, it is an office which has been held by a line of men whose names are more impressive, from the purely intellectual standpoint, than the list even of the Presidents.

True, we find no Washington, Lincoln or Roosevelt on the roll of the Secretaries of State, but we do find there Jay and Marshall, Webster and Clay, Seward and Marcy, Evarts and Blaine, Olney and Hay, Root and Knox. All this without counting the Secretaries of State who later became President, and there were six of these—Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren and Buchanan.

So if and when the great lawyer who already has had the honor of being Governor of New York and Republican candidate for President takes his place as the organ of the Government in international affairs he will be joining a group the eminence of whose members is excellent testimony to the high character of American statesmanship.

John Jay's Legal Powers Helped Form This Country

The first Secretary of State, John Jay, was one of the great legal and diplomatic minds that formed the Republic. He was a delegate to the first Congress and one of the authors of the celebrated "Address to the People of Great Britain." In 1777, when he was only 32 years old, he drew the first Constitution of the State of New York and was the first Chief Justice of the State. In 1779 he went to Spain as Minister. After the war he joined Benjamin Franklin and John Adams as a Commissioner to negotiate peace with Britain. Before Jay's return to America, in 1784, Congress elected him Secretary for Foreign Affairs, then the most important individual post in the country. This place he held until the formation of the Federal Government in 1789. When Gen. Washington became President he offered to Jay any place he might wish, and Jay became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. As Jefferson, who was appointed to succeed Jay in the control of State affairs, had not returned from France, Jay acted as Secretary of State until Jefferson's arrival. In 1794 Washington sent Jay as a special envoy to England. There he framed the celebrated "Jay's Treaty," which provided for the surrender to the United States of the Northwestern military posts and the determination of the northern boundary. From 1795 to 1801 Jay was Governor of New York. On leaving that office he declined his former place as Chief Justice and spent the remainder of his life on his estate at Bedford, in Westchester county.

Thomas Jefferson breathed the true spirit of the American statesman when Washington offered him the State portfolio, a task which he did not desire: "It is not for an individual to choose his post. You are to marshal us as may be best for the public good." Jefferson had then achieved everything, short of the Presidency, that a man could ask. Indeed, the drafting of the Declaration gave him fame eternal. Yet he had also been a member of the Congress, Governor of Virginia, and Franklin's successor as plenipotentiary to France. While Jefferson's performances as Secretary of State were most creditable, he found himself ill at ease in a Cabinet which included his political opposite, Alexander Hamilton. Their disagreements led to Jefferson's resignation, but it is noteworthy that after Hamilton left the Cabinet Washington asked Jefferson to return to his former position. When he became President in 1801 Jefferson formed a Cabinet in which there was little dissension and kept it intact for two terms. It was not as Secretary of State that Jefferson shone most brightly. History knows him better as the author of the Declaration, the far visioned President who acquired the Louisiana territory and the Democrat who took pains to abolish every official usage that savored of royalty.

The Great Jurist Marshall Before the Secretaryship

When John Marshall took the office of Secretary of State under President Adams he had not yet gained fully that prestige as a jurist which puts him at the head of all our judges. But his record as a public man had been superb. A soldier of the Revolution, the greatest lawyer in Virginia, the defender of the Constitution, the supporter of Washington and the profound student of international law—such he had been when President Adams sent him, with Charles C. Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry, as joint envoys to France, where their friendly advances were met with nothing better than Talleyrand's attempt to blackmail them and the United States. Yet Marshall handled this unfortunate situation so well that his return to this country was a triumph. Upon the removal of Pickering from the office of Secretary of State, in 1799, Marshall accepted the post and served with distinction to the end of John Adams's Administration. He was still Secretary of State when he took his place as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a position which he held for thirty-five years, and which he adorned so magnificently that in the history of law his name stands beside those of Sir Matthew Hale and Lord Mansfield. Of all the men who have been at the head of the State Department Marshall and Webster rank highest in purely intellectual power.

Madison's Career in Cabinet Creditable, Like His Presidency

James Madison, who was Jefferson's Secretary of State, was the possessor of one of the finest lawmaking intellects of the time which, in the nation's beginnings, called for talent of that nature. His experience in legislative work began early, in his native Virginia, when at the age of 25 he helped to draft a State constitution. His statesmanship soon had a broader field as a delegate to the Continental Congress, where he opposed the surrender to Spain of our rights upon the Mississippi and advocated a tariff for revenue. On his return to the Virginia Legislature in 1784 he accomplished one of his most important purposes, the establishment of religious freedom in the State, a precedent valuable elsewhere in America and Europe. But Madison's monumental work was that which he did in creating the Federal Constitution and having it accepted by the States. He, more than any other one man, evolved the scheme by which we live under two complete systems of law, Federal and State. It was, says John Fiske, "one of the longest reaches of constructive statesmanship ever known in the world. To him [Madison] we chiefly owe the luminous conception of the two coexisting and harmonious spheres of government." Madison, next to Hamilton, was the principal author of the *Federalist*. As Secretary of State Madison's record was creditable, as was his course as President, although his real greatness as a national figure was attained in the purely intellectual victories which he won in putting together the frame of the Government. In the capacity of lawgiver and thinker he ranks among the first half dozen men in the making of the United States.

James Monroe, who kept the State portfolio for six years of the administrations of President Madison, held more offices of distinction than any other man of his time. Like his predecessors, Jefferson, Marshall and Madison, he began his political career in the Virginia Legislature. He was in turn United States Senator, envoy to France, Governor of Virginia, plenipotentiary to France, special envoy to England and, for the second time, Governor of Virginia. It was on his second mission to France that he and Robert R. Livingston, in 1803, obtained from Napoleon, for 80,000,000 francs, the Louisiana territory. Monroe's most enduring fame rests upon the signal act of his second Administration as President, when he set forth in a message to Congress the Doctrine that bears his name and which played so important a part in the election of 1920. The Monroe Doctrine was the natural as well as the crowning accomplishment of a man whose whole career was intensely American. Monroe was a soldier in the war for independence, an advocate of keeping the Mississippi and of acquiring Louisiana and Florida and a strong defender of our maritime rights. When he put into words the thought that had been America's since the days of Washington—that Europe must not be permitted to add to its territory on this hemisphere—he made his name immortal.

Intellect and Will Power Distinguished J. Q. Adams

John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, is the only man in American history of whom it is written that the greatest part of his career came after he left the White House. Three years after Jackson, in 1828, defeated Adams for reelection to the Presidency the ex-President was sent by his Massachusetts constituency to Congress, where he remained for seventeen years and fought the preliminary skirmishes in the fight that eventually killed slavery. "Terrible in invective, matchless at repartee and insensible to fear," as Fiske summarizes him, the relentless Puritan was the terror of the slaveholding States. As President, Adams showed the same courage in his refusal to turn the offices over to the spoilsmen. In this respect he shines as the most independent President since Washington. As Secretary of State he made perhaps the greatest record of any man in that post. He brought about the treaty with Spain by which Florida became ours. And although credit is not taken from Monroe for his Doctrine, there is no question of the big part Adams played in framing that principle. No more American than Monroe, he was more aggressive. The most remarkable thing about Adams's successful diplomatic career, both in the State Department and in the missions to Russia and England, is the fact that he could do so much in spite of his cold, uncompromising temperament. What other diplomats have done with suavity Adams accomplished through sheer intellect and power of will.

The nomination of Henry Clay for Secretary of State by President John Quincy Adams resulted soon afterward in the bloodless duel between Clay and John Randolph, the Roanoke statesman having described the alliance between Adams and Clay as "a coalition between Blifil and Black George, the Puritan and the blackleg." It was a false charge, but it undoubtedly injured Clay, whose support of Adams for the Presidency arose from honorable motives, and may have cost the Kentuckian the Presidency. Clay was incorruptible. His national spirit was of the finest. As an orator his name is linked with Webster's. As a party leader he was the idol of his followers. Clay began his national political career as Senator for Kentucky and was next Speaker of the House. He was the leader of the war party in the House in 1812, and in 1814 a member of the peace commission. On his return to the House of Representatives he supported the Missouri Compromise, of which he is frequently but erroneously called the author. Clay was defeated for President in 1824 by Adams, whose Secretary of State he became. He brought to the office a fine mental equipment but found few opportunities to use it in a striking way. In 1832 he was again a candidate for President, but Jackson beat him. In 1844 he received the Whig nomination, but Polk was the victor. So ended the great ambition of the Mill Boy of the Slashes.

Webster's Rich After Career Has Dimmed His Work in This Office

Daniel Webster was twice Secretary of State. In his first period of service, under President Tyler, he negotiated the Ashburton treaty by which the northeastern boundary was defined and England's so-called right of search of American vessels was abandoned, removing for good and all the conditions which caused the war of 1812. Ten years afterward, in 1850, Webster became President Fillmore's Secretary of State. While acting as the organ of the Government in foreign affairs Webster showed that his powers as a diplomatist were scarcely inferior to his legal and oratorical endowments, but it is as a Secretary of State that he is least thought of now. His country proudly thinks of him as one whose brain and voice did more to inspire Americanism than any other man between Washington and Lincoln; as the greatest Federalist since Hamilton; as the finest exponent of the Constitution since Marshall. Long after the Ashburton treaty is forgotten it will be remembered that Webster's reply to Hayne, the finest oration since the day of Demosthenes, will still ringing in America's ears thirty years after it was uttered and when the anxiety of Webster for the preservation of the Union was shared by all the people of the North.

William L. Marcy, Secretary of State under President Pierce, was a big figure in politics, first of this State and later of the nation. He was successively State Comptroller, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, United States Senator and Governor of New York for three terms. In his fourth campaign for Governor he was defeated by William H. Seward. President Polk made him Secretary of War and he filled this difficult place during the Mexican War.

William H. Seward ranks among the great Secretaries of State by virtue not only of his generally high qualities as a statesman, but of his accomplishments as Lincoln's official voice during the civil war. Seward was a big man when he entered the Cabinet and a bigger man when he left it. Not since the Revolution had our foreign affairs called for such a combination of wisdom and firmness. The North expected Seward not only to repel European intervention, but to prevent European recognition of the Confederacy, and the Secretary of State was able to do all that was asked of him. The Trent affair and the French intervention in Mexico were among the grave diplomatic problems which Seward handled with tact and success. His greatest diplomatic triumph in peace was the purchase of Alaska from Russia. Seward was twice Governor of New York and twice a Senator in Congress from this State, and in both offices distinguished himself. The State Department for years after Seward's incumbency felt the results of his work there, for he reorganized a department which had suffered from the spoilsmen.

Like Webster, James G. Blaine was twice Secretary of State. His first period in the office was brief, being terminated by the death of President Garfield. Three years later, in 1884, he was the Republican nominee for the Presidency and was narrowly beaten by Cleveland. When Benjamin Harrison entered the White House in 1889 he summoned Blaine, the most brilliant and perhaps the most popular man of his party, to be his premier. Blaine's three years in the State Department produced a record that measures up to his general public accomplishments. He made a good treaty with Germany respecting the Samoan Islands. He negotiated the Blaine-Pauncefote Treaty of 1892 relative to the Bering Sea fisheries. He forced Chile to admit the inviolability of our legation at Santiago and to pay indemnity for the killing of American sailors by a Valparaiso mob. His note to Italy on the subject of the Italians who were lynched for assassinating the New Orleans chief of police is a model of vigor. Like two of his predecessors, Webster and Clay, Blaine was a popular idol whose failure to reach the Presidency was a matter of regret to millions of followers.

Richard Olney was regarded as a great lawyer rather than a diplomat before he became Secretary of State in Cleveland's second Administration after the death of Gresham in 1895. As President Cleveland's Attorney General he had, in 1894, won a great victory over the forces of disorder by preventing the Chicago strike rioters from interfering with the mails and interstate commerce. His statesmanship was proved in the State Department when he and President Cleveland put an end to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Olney's despatch to our Ambassador in England, Mr. Bayard, contained an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine newer and bolder than this Government had previously uttered. When Mr. Olney declared that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition" he made Europe gasp—and bow. As Grover Cleveland said of this despatch, "in no event will this American principle ever be better defined, better defended or more bravely asserted."

John Sherman is scarcely remembered as a Secretary of State. The holding of that office was the last official chapter of a long public life of fine usefulness to his country. He had been twenty-two years in Congress before President Hayes, in 1877, called him to be Secretary of the Treasury, a position to which he was entitled by reason of his keen grasp of finance. This service was followed by sixteen years in the Senate, where he was the father of the Sherman silver law and the Sherman anti-trust law. He was President McKinley's first Secretary of State, but because of his ill health he retired soon after the beginning of the war with Spain.

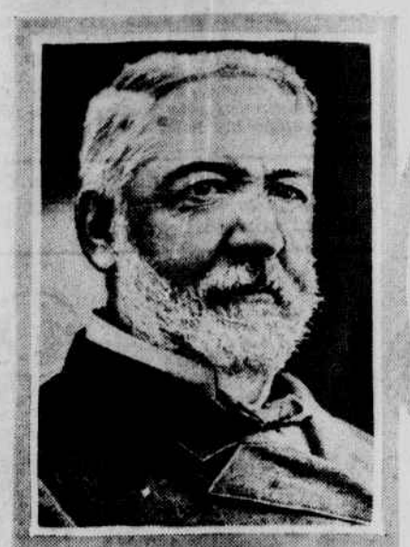
John Hay, who served as Secretary of State under McKinley and Roosevelt, ranks high among the diplomatists who have held the office. His early experiences were useful in that respect, for he was assistant private secretary to Lincoln during the civil war and was secretary of legation at Paris and Vienna. He succeeded Bayard in 1897 as Ambassador to Great Britain, but was called home to guide the State Department in the Spanish War. To John Hay this country owes the negotiation of the treaty which made the Panama Canal possible. The world owes to him the opening of the door of China and the fact that China was not dismembered at the time of the Boxer rebellion. Hay created, too, our Philippine policy, established the Alaska boundary, and obtained the recognition of the new republic of Panama and ended the Samoan dispute.

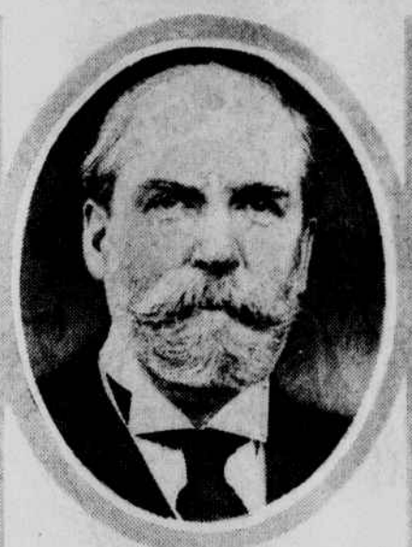
The successor to Hay, Elihu Root, was a vastly bigger figure in the public eye than Hay himself. His services as Secretary of War had been highly beneficial, for he reorganized the department, planned the War College, created the General Staff and applied the merit system as far as practicable to the promotion of officers. Five years of Root did much for the War Department, and President Roosevelt, on the death of John Hay in 1905, was glad to have America's greatest lawyer take over the State Department. In Root's term of office no wars or important international disputes occurred; so he devoted his efforts to improving our relations with the Spanish-American countries. Since he left the State Department Mr. Root has been a larger figure than ever. As Senator, as counsel for the United States in the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration, as a member of the Hague Court of Arbitration and as president of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1915 he has taken a very active part in public affairs at home and abroad.

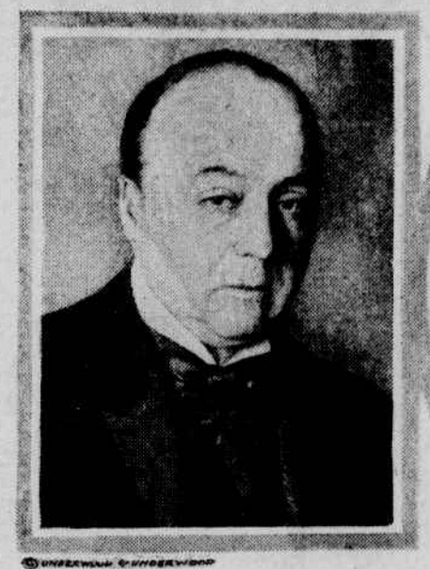
When Elihu Root left the State Department his place was taken by another statesman almost of equal fame in the matter of legal ability. Philander C. Knox was regarded as the greatest business lawyer in America when in 1901 he accepted the Attorney Generalship and proceeded to silence his critics with his proceedings against the Northern Securities Company and the Beef Trust and with his report to Congress making clear the status of trusts and combinations in the law. In the State Department Mr. Knox continued Mr. Root's good work of making better friends with the South American republics and he made a successful tour of the southern continent. His great work in the Senate last year, in opposition to the Wilson Covenant, showed further qualities of statesmanship.

Such have been the big men of the State Department. And the public, which sees in Justice Hughes one of the finest legal minds of the age and many marks of the highest statesmanship, expects to have his name burn as brightly as the others on the brilliant scroll of lawyers, statesmen and diplomatists.

Statesmen all, these men have made American history. At the left is James G. Blaine, in the centre Charles E. Hughes, and at the right is Elihu Root. Their distinguished services are recognized by world historians.







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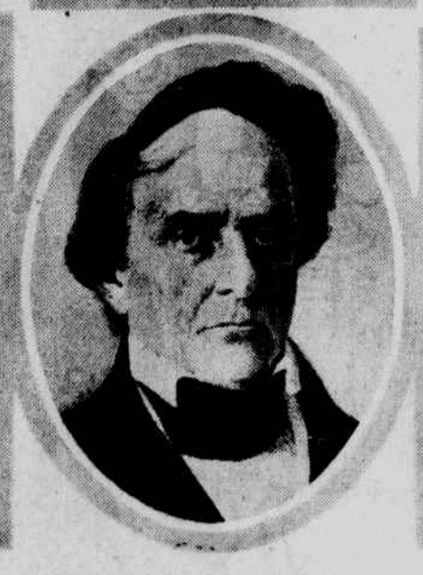

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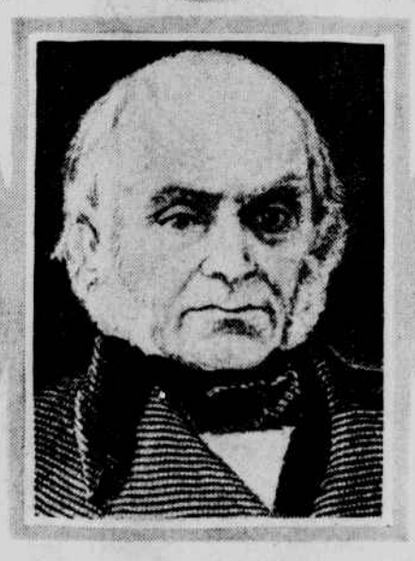

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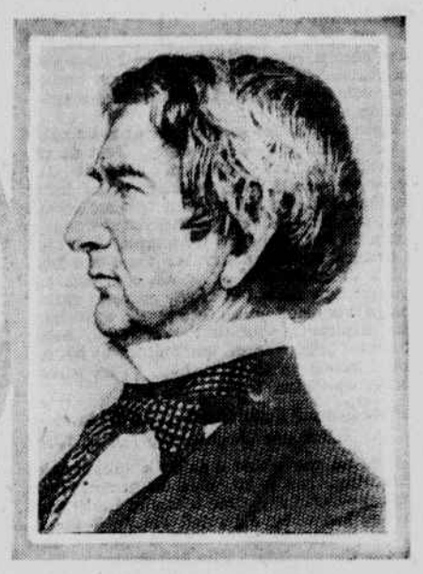

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Dr. Morris and His Keen Philosophy

A LAUGHING philosopher is Dr. Robert T. Morris. This is equivalent to saying that he has wholesome views on the ways—all the ways—of life. A busy New York surgeon, he has found time to utter these views in a series of books called "Microbes and Men," "A Surgeon's Philosophy" and "Doctors Versus Folks." They are rambling excursions along all sorts of paths, but they lead in every case to biology.

"We are toads now," said the doctor to a NEW YORK HERALD reporter, quoting from a Western physician, "but by the study and application of the science of biology there is no limiting what future human beings may become."

A more recently published book than any of the three mentioned has for its subject "The Way Out of War," which is made up of notes on the biology of war. The jurist or the biologist, Dr. Morris says in his foreword to this volume, will finally construct the Magna Charta of peace for to-morrow's nations, obtaining plans of natural equity from a basis of natural law.

"War is to be classed with those extrinsic factors of development of the individual which can in no way alter the race. Wars may change and even destroy the social, religious and moral inheritance of a race, but this affects the individual without modifying the development of the germ plasm.

"The natural law works for the preservation of species. We are to distinguish between warfare meaning struggle for advantage of position and warfare which causes direct killing.

"Man is the only mammal that kills his own kind directly, and in that act indicates that he is working abnormally in opposition to this natural law. The reason why he works abnormally is because he has defective brain construction. His anatomy is mechanically faulty.

"Warfare by arms will continue in all probability, but with ever lengthening periods of peace. A philosophy of mutual interdependence will some day succeed to the false idea of war. Autocracy has been tested out in the laboratory; now democracy is to take its turn there for a fuller degree of testing."

Coming down to the human unit in his medical philosophy as applied to daily life and from which in aggregations temper rises to the nth power and results in wars between nations, Dr. Morris has this to say of anger in its effect on the human body:

"A man who succumbs to an attack of wrath poisons himself. The action is chemical. Poisonous by-products have to be eliminated following each attack; if they are not illness must follow.

"How shall we act so as to make less frequent or dissipate altogether attacks of anger in mankind? Can we train the little boy who throws himself onto the floor and kicks and screams until he realizes that he is injuring himself?

"Refer him to animals. They never show anger except in defence. If you contradict me by instancing the dog I answer that the dog has suffered from human companionship. The wild animal is free from anger save when he is attacked."

But these subjects of universal interest are not the only themes for Dr. Morris's ebullient spirit and discursive intellect. He has views on every subject ever mentioned, and what he has to say about prohibition sounds sane and it is timely.

"The chief objection to prohibition is found in the idea that it limits the freedom of the individual. Well, the drunkard limits the freedom of his wife and children and of other people.

"When the State raises citizens all of whom are responsible in their use of beverages no restriction of sale will be necessary. In the meantime absolute prohibition of sale is the least complicated resource and wise or well managed restriction the most beneficial course."

A laughing philospher is a descriptive title to give this New York surgeon. He has far views into the future and looks for an improved humanity. But while he utters unconventional thoughts in a perfectly matter of fact way, he accompanies their delivery with a smile and defends them with a laugh.

On the question very much discussed now, psychoanalysis, Dr. Morris has his own ideas, as he has on most subjects. Said he:

"We need not become converts to the speculative philosophy brought to bear by Freud upon the belief that all affection dates back primarily to sexual attraction. To me this idea is repulsive. To be sure we have to realize the fact that a great deal of it really does go back to sex attraction and the devil who points out that fact in a scholarly way must be given his due.

"The idea that I prefer gives equal value to the belief that affection has its origin in the desire to be useful to our fellow man. I would carry the whole subject back to sex and toward a monistic belief that sexual attraction represents an incident in the course of physical combination of one of the physical entities, let us say matter.

"Now there is another physical entity of equal value, and that is energy. Energy and matter went on to the development of organic life and made sex attraction an incident of expediency. They progressed further and developed a form of response that we call the soul.

"I believe that the desire of men to be useful to each other has at least equal value with sex attraction in the question of race preservation and of self-preservation.

"Sexual impulse forms one element of affection and the desire for usefulness represents another. There is a third element in affection, an impulse of universal brotherhood and of man with nature and, using the visualized form of nature, an impulse toward God.

"Love leading toward marriage is a psychosis (a conscious mental activity) that nature purposely furnishes. In cases of 'falling in love' we have the common symptoms which go with other psychoses, such as deep breathing, disturbances of circulation, sighing respiration, loss of appetite, delusion that faults are virtues and other signs of physical disturbance.

"Nature has to employ this method in order to blind young people and to prevent them from bringing into play those intellectual faculties which would lead to analysis.

"After nature has attained her primary object she supplants the psychosis of love with one of sane regard and esteem of a man for a woman and of a woman for a man.

"Two people falling in love under the influence of psychosis are like people going under the influence of any other sort of anesthetic.

"Very soon the lovers are out of this hypnotic state, the psychosis is over and nature has accomplished her object. They are married."